

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 AF-04 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-06 RSC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6392

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ELAB, UK, EEC,PINT

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH TUC GENERAL SECRETARY MURRAY  
ON EC MEMBERSHIP, EAST-WEST AFFAIRS, AND THE SOCIAL  
CONTRACT

REF: LONDON'S 15228

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: LEN MURRAY, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE  
BRITISH TUC, SAID THAT THE STAGE HAS NOT YET BEEN REACHED  
IN WHICH THE TUC WOULD CONSIDER A SPECIAL TUC CONGRESS  
ON CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC OR AN ANTI-MARKET  
CAMPAIGN, BUT HE DID NOT RULE OUT THESE POSSIBILITIES  
FOR THE FUTURE. THE TUC LEADER DISCUSSED THE EC ISSUE  
AS WELL AS EAST-WEST TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS AND -  
BRIEFLY - THE SOCIAL CONTRACT DURING A MEETING ON DECEM-  
BER 5 WITH LONDON-BASED LABOR ATTACHES. END SUMMARY

2. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY - MURRAY SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT  
SEVERAL TUC UNIONS, INCLUDING CLIVE JENKINS' ASSOCIATION  
OF SALARIED TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL STAFFS (ASTMS) WERE  
ALREADY INVOLVED IN AN ANTI-COMMON MARKET CAMPAIGN (REF-  
TEL) BUT, TO DATE, THIS GROUP HAD NOT URGED THE GENERAL  
COUNCIL EITHER TO SPONSOR AN ANTI-MARKET CAMPAIGN OR TO  
CONSIDER HOLDING A SPECIAL TUC CONGRESS TO PARALLEL A  
SPECIAL LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE ON THE EC. HE DID NOT  
RULE OUT EITHER OF THESE IDEAS FOR THE FUTURE, BUT HE  
ALSO INDICATED THAT, DESPITE THE TUC'S POSITION OF  
"CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO THE EC" THERE WAS NO MONOLITHIC  
VIEW ON THE SUBJECT WITHIN THE GENERAL COUNCIL. THERE  
WERE THOSE, HE SAID, WHO WERE "IN PRINCIPLE STRONGLY FOR  
THE EC," THOSE WHO WERE "GRUDGINGLY FOR A REFERENDUM,"  
AND ANOTHER GROUP WHICH WAS "IN PRINCIPLE STRONGLY  
AGAINST THE EC." MURRAY BELIEVES THE ISSUE WILL NOT BE  
JOINED WITHIN THE TUC UNTIL THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN  
COMPLETED, BUT HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THE TUC POSITION  
WOULD HAVE A MEANINGFUL EFFECT ON THE FINAL OUTCOME.  
AS MURRAY PUT IT: "YOU SHOULD ASK WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES  
IT MAKE WHAT THE TUC POSITION IS" AND THEN ANSWERING THE  
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QUESTION HIMSELF, HE ADDED, "I DON'T KNOW."

3. MURRAY ADDED THAT, IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW, THE KEY  
ELEMENTS OF THE RENEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE  
SATISFACTORILY CONCLUDED BEFORE HE ACCEPTED CONTINUED  
MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC WERE: A) REVISION OF THE CAP; B) A  
CONSIDERABLY REDUCED UK BUDGET CONTRIBUTION; C) A CHANGE  
IN THE EC'S COMPETITION POLICIES, BUT HE DID NOT ELABO-

RATE THIS POINT; AND D) A REDUCTION OF THE EC'S CONCEPT OF EUROPE TOWARD ONE WHICH ESSENTIALLY RESEMBLED GENERAL DE GAULLE'S EUROPE DES PATRIES. THE RENEGOTIATION PROCESS, MOREOVER, HE ADDED, MUST RESULT IN A SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF THE BRITISH BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT.

4. EAST-WEST DETENTE - MURRAY SAID THAT THE TUC IS CONTINUING ITS POLICY OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH UNIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE CITING THE RECENT VISIT HE MADE TO HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WITH JACK JONES AND OTHER TUC LEADERS (PRESS RELEASE ON THE VISIT BEING POUCHED). IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL AMENITIES HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION IN DEPTH, MAINLY WITH THE HUNGARIAN TRADE UNION LEADERS, ABOUT THE INCREASING NEED TO DIFFERENTIATE THE SPECIAL INTERESTS OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THOSE OF THE PARTY ,AND TO ESTABLISH A DISTINCT IDENTITY FOR THE PARTY. IN BOTH COUNTRIES, HE SAID, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNIONS WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF "RISING EXPECTATIONS" AMONG WORKERS AND HOW TO COPE

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WITH THEM. MURRAY FOUND THE HUNGARIANS BETTER PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THESE ISSUES THAN THE CZECHS WHO TENDED TO "ARGUE THE PARTY" LINE.

5. WFTU ACTIVITIES - MURRAY SAID THE DELEGATION RAISED WITH BOTH THE CZECHS AND THE HUNGARIANS THE TUC'S SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE FACT THAT THE WFTU WAS ENGAGED IN AN ANTI-ICFTU CAMPAIGN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IF THIS WASN'T STOPPED, HE SAID THEY TOLD THE COMMUNIST LEADERS, THE TUC WILL CEASE ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE SUMMIT EAST-WEST TRADE UNION CONFERENCES WHICH HAVE BEEN HELD IN GENEVA.

6. EAST-WEST TRADE UNION CONFERENCE - MURRAY SAID THAT WHILE THE NEXT EAST-WEST TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, SCHEDULED FOR EARLY NEXT YEAR, WILL DEAL ESSENTIALLY WITH TECHNICAL QUESTIONS, HE DID NOT RULE OUT A CERTAIN BROADENING OF THE AGENDA AT SUBSEQUENT CONFERENCES, TO INCLUDE SUCH QUESTIONS AS LABOR EDUCATION. HOWEVER, HE SAID THE TUC HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE OPPOSED TO THE USE OF THESE CONFERENCES FOR PURELY POLITICAL PURPOSES AND IF THIS WERE TO OCCUR, THE TUC WOULD CEASE TO COOPERATE. HE SAID THE TUC WOULD ALSO PREFER THAT THE EAST-WEST CONFERENCES NOT BE TIED TO THE ILO STRUCTURE, SINCE THIS WILL GENERATE PRESSURE FROM EASTERN EUROPEAN UNIONS TO DEVELOP A SECRETARIAT AND A DEFINITE ORGANIZATIONAL

STRUCTURE FOR THE CONFERENCE.

7. EAST-WEST AUTOMOBILE WORKERS CONFERENCE IN LONDON - MURRAY DEFENDED THE CONVENING OF A THREE-DAY CONFERENCE OF EAST-WEST AUTOMOBILE WORKERS WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE DECEMBER 9-11 (SEPTEL), AND WHICH IS BEING BOYCOTTED BY THE US AND GERMAN AUTOWORKERS. HE SAID THAT THE SPREADING OF CONGLOMERATES AND INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES TO EASTERN EUROPE MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT UNIONS IN THE WEST MEET WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN EASTERN EUROPE TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS. THE BRITISH WORKERS WANT TO DO WHAT THEY CAN, HE SAID, TO HELP RAISE STANDARDS IN EASTERN EUROPE IN ORDER TO AVOID CHEAP LABOR THREATENING THEIR OWN JOBS AND STAND-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARDS. MURRAY DENIED THAT THE CONFERENCE MIGHT BE THE PRELUDE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL METALWORKERS ORGANIZATION IN EUROPE.

8. ETUC - HE SAID THAT THE QUESTION OF CGT MEMBERSHIP IS NOT ON FOR THE MOMENT BECAUSE THERE IS A STRONG OPPOSITION WITHIN THE TUC TO SUCH MEMBERSHIP AND THE SITUATION IN FRANCE IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN ITALY, WHEN THE COMMUNIST CGIL WAS ADMITTED TO THE ETUC, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER TRADE UNION CENTERS IN ITALY AND WITH WIDE SUPPORT FROM OTHER ETUC AFFILIATES. MURRAY INDICATED THAT THE TUC IN PRINCIPLE FAVORS ULTIMATE MEMBERSHIP FOR THE CGT DOES NOT WISH TO PRESS THE ISSUE NOW AGAINST THE OPPOSITION OF OTHER ETUC UNIONS (MOST NOTABLY THE GERMAN DGB). HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT THE ADMITTANCE OF YUGOSLAVIAN OR OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS WAS NOT EVEN BEING CONTEMPLATED, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY FOR SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE.

9. AID TO PORTUGAL - WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE TUC WAS CONSIDERING ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGUESE UNIONS IN VIEW OF THE DANGER THAT THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WOULD COME UNDER OVERWHELMING COMMUNIST CONTROL, MURRAY REPLIED THAT THE TUC PREFERRED TO HAVE THE ICFTU COORDINATE SUCH AN EFFORT. HOWEVER, HE ADDED: "IF SOMEONE SUGGESTS A PROJECT TO US, WE WOULD CONSIDER IT."

10. AID TO SOUTH AFRICA - THE TUC HAD AGREED TO SPEND ABOUT 11,000 POUNDS ON THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION IN DURBAN AND WAS ALSO CONTEMPLATING ASSISTANCE TO THE DURBAN URBAN TRAINING PROJECT -- BOTH DESIGNED TO ASSIST BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS.

11. THE SOCIAL CONTRACT - WHEN MURRAY WAS ASKED IF THE

SOCIAL CONTRACT WAS FALLING APART, HE REPLIED: "I ALWAYS EXPECT IT TO ERUPT SOMEDAY, BUT WE HAVE CURRENTLY UNDERTAKEN A SURVEY OF WAGE SETTLEMENTS, AND 80 PERCENT OF THEM ARE WITHIN THE SOCIAL CONTRACT GUIDELINES, WHILE 20 PERCENT ARE NOT. OF THE 20 PERCENT WHICH ARE NOT, SEVERAL ARE CLOSE TO THE GUIDELINES AND A FEW ARE VERY FAR AWAY FROM THEM." HOWEVER, MURRAY SHRUGGED AWAY WHAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HIS QUESTIONERS DESCRIBED AS SERIOUS WARNINGS THAT SERIOUS UNEMPLOYMENT WOULD FOLLOW BREACHES OF THE CONTRACT WITH THE REMARK: "THEY'RE TALKING OF 1950 ECONOMICS."

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12. COMMENT: WHILE THE TUC APPEARS TO BE CAUTIOUSLY MOVING TO DEEPEN ITS POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION DETENTE, IT HAS NOT - AS MURRAY WOULD ATTEST - GIVEN UP ITS LONG-TERM GOAL OF "ONE BIG UNION" MADE OF UNIONS OF DIFFERENT IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASIONS, AT LEAST IN WESTERN EUROPE. ONLY VERY DETERMINED OPPOSITION FROM POWERFUL UNIONS IN EUROPE SUCH AS THE GERMAN DGB WOULD DELAY -- AND PERHAPS EVEN PREVENT -- SUCH A DEVELOPMENT. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GERMAN DGB'S OPPOSITION TO THE ENTRY OF THE FRENCH CGT INTO THE ETUC IS THE MAJOR FACTOR IN DELAYING ITS ADMISSION.

13. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS INTEGRATION OF COMMUNIST UNIONS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS ON THE SECTORIAL LEVEL SEEMS TO BE ADVANCING MUCH MORE RAPIDLY. THE CONVENING OF AN EAST-WEST AUTOMOBILE WORKERS CONFERENCE IN LONDON THIS WEEK INVOLVING A REPORTED 30 SOVIET BLOC DELEGATES OUT OF 114 DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE (REFERRED TO PREVIOUSLY IN THIS MESSAGE) COULD BE CHARACTERIZED ALMOST AS A "LEAP FORWARD" IN TRADE UNION DETENTE.

14. REPORTEDLY, THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU) IS SENDING STAFF REPRESENTATIVES FROM PRAGUE. PETER WALKER, CONSERVATIVE DEFENSE SPOKESMAN, HAS CLAIMED THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL BE USED TO INCREASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN BRITISH INDUSTRY. THERE

IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIET BLOC VIEWS THIS CONFERENCE  
WITH CONSIDERABLE GRATIFICATION.

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